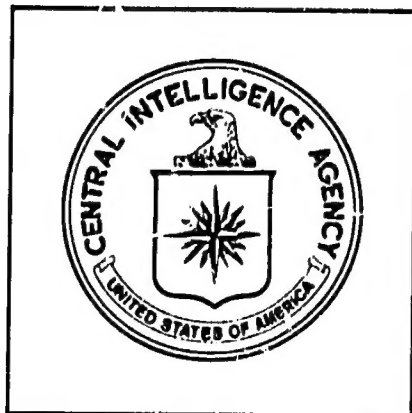


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STAFF NOTES:

Soviet Union Eastern Europe

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SOVIET UNION - EASTERN EUROPE

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Sakharov's Prize: The Dissidents' View

The award of a Nobel Peace Prize to Andrey Sakharov appears to be generating a degree of cohesive activism among members of the Soviet dissident community that may give the regime pause, at least over the short term. In the longer term, however, the dissidents' prospects remain grim.

Last week, 37 dissidents of differing philosophical stripes joined in issuing a statement condemning the regime's refusal (as yet unpublicized by Soviet domestic media) to permit Sakharov to travel to Oslo next month for the award ceremony. The dissidents pledged support for Sakharov and charged that the regime's action is proof of its "fear in the face of the unwavering movement of civil thought and morality" in the USSR.

The document is the second public declaration of support for Sakharov and his principles that the dissidents have put out in as many weeks. The first, signed only by a handful of the most prominent names, was made public on October 30, evidently in response to the publication by *Izvestia* of a statement by 72 members of the Academy of Sciences condemning Sakharov and the Nobel Committee.

The declarations, both of which may have been drafted and organized by writer Andrey Amalrik, brought together such figures as reformist, Marxist historian Roy Medvedev, sculptor Ernst Neizvestny, former general Petr Grigorenko, poet Aleksandr Ginzburg, members of the official writers union Vladimir Kornilov and Osip Cherny, and Larisa Bogoraz, wife of writer Anatoly Marchenko. Also among the signatories were Jewish activist Vitaly Rubin and mathematician Vladimir Albrecht. The latter is the secretary of the Moscow branch of the London-based human rights organization Amnesty International--a

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The more pessimistic majority see the Kremlin as willing to use Sakharov's case to make even clearer than before that the CSCE agreements cannot be cited by the West to press for change in Soviet domestic policy. They also point to the Soviet leadership's recent retrenchment on doctrinal issues as an indication not only of pre-congress closing of ranks, but also a reaction to perceived exploitation of human rights by some in the West to sabotage detente. In this atmosphere, the dissidents see their future as dark.

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Romania Sends "Observer" to
Swiss Military Maneuvers

Romania has again broken ranks with its East European allies, this time, when it sent an "observer" to Swiss military maneuvers last week. Bucharest apparently wants to demonstrate the importance it attaches to CSCE confidence-building measures and to underscore its determination to resist Moscow's demands for greater conformity within the Warsaw Pact.

Originally, all five Warsaw Pact military attaches accredited to Bern--including the Soviet--indicated they might attend. Moscow had second thoughts, however, apparently fearing it might set a precedent for inviting Western observers to Warsaw Pact exercises. The Soviet attache asked the Swiss, who have long invited observers to their exercises, if they extended this invitation specifically to fulfill CSCE obligations.

The Romanians probably calculated that it was easier to break ranks on the "observer" issue when a neutral state held the exercises. Bucharest may also have felt that Soviet equivocation about attending the Swiss exercises presented a convenient opportunity to be present. Last month the Romanians did not send an observer to NATO maneuvers in West Germany, although there were earlier signs that they would. At the time, a Romanian diplomat noted the "repercussions would be too great," and alleged the Soviets were "twisting arms."

A Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official handling CSCE affairs later said that Romania hoped for more "national"--not NATO--invitations in the future when "moments were more propitious." He suggested that the West "bombard" the East with as many maneuver notifications as possible in order to get the Soviets to comply.

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Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Meet

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[redacted] the meeting of Warsaw Pact defense ministers now being held in Prague is "routine and of no special significance." The two-day session, expected to end today, will probably consider past and future training exercises. The last similar meeting was held in Moscow in January, and the ministers have usually timed their annual sessions for the winter months when exercise activity slackens. The recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact military council in Bucharest was also routine, and set the agenda for the current meeting. [redacted]

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Polish Party Plenum Due Thursday

The Polish Party Central Committee meets on Thursday to complete plans for the seventh party congress which convenes on December 8. Some changes in Politburo membership will probably be made at the plenum or, more likely, at the congress, but no major alterations in the Gierek leadership or its policies are expected.

Those members of the Politburo most likely to be dropped are Franciszek Szlachcic, who was removed from the party secretariat in 1974 for excessive nationalism and personal ambition, Cultural Minister Jozef Tejchma, and former planning chief Mieczyslaw Jagielski who has lost some of his extensive influence after a severe heart attack.

The plenum will probably focus on how to proceed with raising food prices and coping with the persistent meat shortages that have caused widespread grumbling since early this year.

The Politburo's decisions on these sensitive economic issues will be explained to local party officials, but they will probably receive little if any publicity in the media.

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A New Constitution and the 25th Party Congress

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Time is growing short for Soviet party boss Brezhnev to fulfill his 1972 promise that a new constitution would be submitted for nationwide discussion before the 25th party congress. On balance, the evidence suggests he will not make it.

The question of a new constitution has been hanging fire since 1959 when it was first proposed by Khrushchev. Brezhnev has publicly associated himself with the project and indeed heads the 95-member commission charged with drafting the document. When Brezhnev last spoke on the subject publicly, in 1972, he said that a new constitution was needed to reflect the changes that have taken place in Soviet society since the present constitution was adopted in 1936.

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[redacted] was even more pessimistic, saying early this month that a new draft would not be ready until late next year or early 1977. [redacted] claimed that the commission drafting the document had to deal with many difficult arguments.

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In developments possibly related to a new constitution, the Soviet press reported in October that a Supreme Soviet Commission met to examine the question of the USSR draft law on citizenship. [redacted]

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The customary discussion in scholarly journals and the press of a draft constitution has not even begun, nor is there any evidence that a draft has been sent to the republic Supreme Soviets for review and discussion. The Soviets have been close followers of this long-established procedure when presenting an important document to the public. Customarily a draft is published and a call for a nationwide discussion issued; some of the suggestions made during this lengthy public discussion are incorporated in the final draft document. There is, in short, a determined effort to milk such an affair for maximum publicity before it concludes with adoption by the Supreme Soviet. The ongoing preparations for the party congress would seem to preclude initiation of a constitutional debate at this time.

Next year, however, the Soviets will mark the 40th anniversary of the present constitution, and given the penchant of the leadership to mark decade

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anniversaries with some pomp, it is possible that another start on the constitution may be announced at the Congress, and there may be some statement of general principles.

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Czechoslovak Foreign Minister's Tour d'Horizon

Foreign Minister Chnoupek's major foreign policy speech to the Federal Assembly on November 11 was less sycophantic toward the Soviets than his last major parliamentary address on October 13, 1972.

Despite the decreased adulation accorded the Soviet Union in his recent address, Chnoupek paid proper obeisance to the basic tenets of Soviet foreign policy, including the "Brezhnev Doctrine." In short, he said nothing to which Moscow might object.

The differences between Chnoupek's speech this time and his earlier one probably are a result of a growing sense of self-confidence of both the regime and the foreign minister himself. Although Prague has not completely shed the pariah image it gained in the post-Dubcek period, its foreign policy has scored major successes over the past three years. Chnoupek, with some pride, emphasized Czechoslovakia's increasing acceptability, as he ticked off the number of foreign contacts, new international documents, and countries with which Prague has established relations. Chnoupek takes personal credit for the "foreign policy successes" achieved since he became foreign minister in December 1971. In fact, he appears to have done so well that, by some accounts, he is slated to move up into the party presidium.

On balance, Chnoupek seemed to be promoting an image of a sovereign country that follows a coordinated foreign policy. His personal style and polish may have made some elements of the address appear newer than they were. Parts of his speech were clearly aimed at the foreign diplomats who were conspicuously invited to attend. His remarks on the implementation of CSCE, foreign trade offices in Czechoslovakia, and the reunification of divided families were deleted in the local press coverage.

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Are the Soviets Miffed with the Afghans?

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[redacted] Soviet
chief of state Podgorny will visit Kabul in the near
future [redacted] the Soviets
and the Arghans routinely exchange visits on an an-
nual basis and Afghan President Daoud was in Moscow
in June 1974. Podgorny's [redacted]

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[redacted] main con-
cern is probably to take a first-hand look at the
Daoud government since the President's purge of
leftist Cabinet members in August.

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Albanian Purges Have Not Affected
Top-level Hierarchy

The widespread purges that are reportedly sweeping the Albanian bureaucracy have evidently not affected the top party leadership. On November 17, a special session of the People's Assembly met to draft a new constitution. All Politburo members were present, including party chief Enver Hoxha--who is still politically very active despite whatever ailments he may have.

Opening speeches at the assembly session strongly suggest that Hoxha will obtain ratification of the reform measures he had apparently adopted in order to strengthen his own and the party's hold over the government's administrative apparatus and to reduce excessive bureaucracy.

On the eve of the session the party's official paper, *Zeri I Popullit*, published a lead editorial written by Ramiz Alia, the Albanian party's chief ideological spokesman. Alia's ringing endorsement of Hoxha's policies clearly signaled to the party faithful that regardless of their unsettling effect on domestic and foreign policy the recent personnel changes have the endorsement of top leaders.

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CHRONOLOGY

November 11 Bulgarian Foreign Minister Mladenov begins a three-day, official visit to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Premier Kosygin confers with acting Libyan Foreign Minister Durdah in Moscow. [REDACTED]

25X1

US-Hungarian Economic Council concludes a two-day meeting, its first, in Budapest. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR Supreme Soviet's planning and budgetary committees convene in the Kremlin to hear reports on the 1976 economic plan by Gosplan chairman Baybakov and on the 1975 and 1976 state budgets by Finance Minister Garbuzov. [REDACTED]

25X1

Foreign Minister Chnoupek outlines Czechoslovak foreign policy in a speech to the Federal Assembly at Prague. [REDACTED]

25X1

Yugoslav party secretary for ideology Kurtovic addresses a meeting of party propagandists in Belgrade; Kurtovic announces that Cominformists will be tried soon and makes a thinly veiled allusion to Soviet interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. [REDACTED]

25X1

A three-hour session in East Berlin on a possible FRG-GDR judicial

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November 11 assistance agreement ends "with no prospect of agreement yet"; the two sides do not plan to reconvene on this topic before next March. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR "temporarily" suspends relations with Uganda. [REDACTED]

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Brezhnev confers with visiting West German President Scheel; also participating in the meeting are Foreign Ministers Gromyko and Genscher. Scheel has a second meeting with President Podgorny. [REDACTED]

25X1

Hungarian Premier Lazar begins an official visit to Italy accompanied by Foreign Trade Minister Biro and Deputy Foreign Minister Nagy; Lazar has two private talks with Italian Prime Minister Moro. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR, GDR, and Romania promptly grant diplomatic recognition to the MPLA's "People's Republic of Angola." [REDACTED]

25X1

November 12 USSR officially refuses the request of dissident physicist Andrey Sakharov for permission to go to Norway to receive his Nobel Peace Prize; Soviets announce they revoked last January the citizenship of dissident Vladimir Maksimov, a prominent writer now living in Paris. [REDACTED]

25X1

Czechoslovak Premier Strougal begins a three-day, official visit to France. [REDACTED]

25X1

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer completes a three-day, official visit to Sweden. [REDACTED]

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November 13 Portuguese Foreign Minister Melo Antunes, citing "the repercussions of the political situation" in Lisbon, cancels his official visit to Czechoslovakia, which was to have started tomorrow. [REDACTED]

25X1

Foreign Minister Genscher returns to Bonn, but FRG President Scheel continues his state visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

25X1

Visiting Hungarian Premier Lazar is granted a 45-minute audience with Pope Paul VI. [REDACTED]

25X1

North Vietnamese party chief Le Duan concludes an official visit to Poland and begins one to Romania; in Warsaw, the two sides signed a five-year economic cooperation agreement. [REDACTED]

25X1

November 14 Politburo member Kirilenko and candidate-member Ponomarev confer with a visiting party-government delegation from the Congo. [REDACTED]

25X1

Romanian President Ceausescu confers with visiting North Vietnamese party chief Le Duan. [REDACTED]

25X1

Polish Deputy Premier Wrzaszczyk concludes a two-day, official visit to the USSR for talks on economic cooperation, having met today with Premier Kosygin and three Soviet deputy premiers. [REDACTED]

25X1

Radio Moscow's domestic service reports another stern demarche was

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November 14 made to China by the USSR "only the other day" regarding the Soviet helicopter crew seized in March of last year. [REDACTED]

25X1

Syrian Prime Minister Ayyubi concludes an official visit to Romania. [REDACTED]

25X1

Portuguese Communist party leader Cunhal begins a visit to Hungary. [REDACTED]

25X1

November 15 Niger Foreign Minister Djermakoye concludes a four-day, official visit to Romania. [REDACTED]

25X1

Hungarian Defense Minister Czinege ends a six-day official visit to Austria. [REDACTED]

25X1

FRG President Scheel returns to Bonn from his state visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

25X1

Soviet economic delegation leaves Moscow for an official visit to Somalia. [REDACTED]

25X1

November 16 Warsaw Pact officials arrive in Prague for a regular meeting of the alliance's defense ministers. [REDACTED]

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GDR Premier Sindermann arrives in Iran for a four-day, official visit. [REDACTED]

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November 17 USS Bigelow begins a six-day, official port call at Rijeka, Yugoslavia.

25X1

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Chnoupek begins a four-day, official visit to the Netherlands.

25X1

Politburo candidate member Demichev concludes an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

25X1

The "editorial commission" seeking to complete preparations for the pan-European Communist party conference convenes in East Berlin.

25X1

Tass announces restoration of Soviet-Ugandan diplomatic relations.

25X1

November 18 Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Grishin arrives in Cairo for a one-week, official visit concerning debt re-scheduling and other aspects of Soviet-Egyptian economic relations.

25X1

Italian President Leone begins a one-week state visit to the USSR.

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FUTURE EVENTS

November 20 French Foreign Trade Minister Segard to begin an official visit to the USSR for talks on energy matters.

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Polish Central Committee to meet.

25X1

Romania's Grand National Assembly to convene in Bucharest.

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November 21 Secretary of Agriculture Butz to begin
a three-day official visit to Romania.

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November 23 Secretary of Agriculture Butz to
begin a three-day, official visit to
Hungary. [REDACTED]

25X1

November 24 Bulgarian party/state leader Zhivkov
to start a five-day visit to West
Germany. [REDACTED]

25X1

Romanian President Ceausescu to begin
a three-day visit to Kuwait; he may
also visit other Persian Gulf states. [REDACTED]

25X1

Soviet-Norwegian Barents Sea con-
tinental shelf talks to resume. [REDACTED]

25X1

November 25 Secretary of Agriculture Butz to
begin a four-day, official visit to
Poland. [REDACTED]

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late Novem- Yugoslav Foreign Minister Minic to
ber make an official visit to the
Netherlands. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR to launch a satellite containing
US biological experiments. [REDACTED]

25X1

December 1 Turkish Prime Minister Demirel to
begin a three-day, official visit to
Bulgaria. [REDACTED]

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December 1 CPSU Central Committee expected to convene in Moscow for a plenary meeting. [REDACTED]

25X1

December 2 Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sabah to begin an official visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

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USSR Supreme Soviet to convene in Moscow. [REDACTED]

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early December

Foreign Minister Gromyko to make an official visit to the UK. [REDACTED]

25X1

US-Soviet committee on nuclear energy cooperation to convene in Washington. [REDACTED]

25X1

December 3 Bulgaria's Sixth National Assembly to convene its 15th session. [REDACTED]

25X1

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Chnoupek to begin a one-week, official visit to India. [REDACTED]

25X1

December 4 West German Foreign Minister Genscher to begin a two-day, official visit to Bucharest. [REDACTED]

25X1

December 8 Polish party congress to convene in Warsaw. [REDACTED]

25X1

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Minic to begin a two-day, official visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

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December 10 Nobel Peace prize to be awarded--
undoubtedly *in absentia*--to
Sakharov at Oslo; Soviet economist
Kantorovich to receive his Economics
prize at Stockholm. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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December Romanian party secretary Andrei
to make an official visit to Israel.

[REDACTED]

25X1

December 19 Brezhnev to mark his 69th birthday.

[REDACTED]

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